



THE BAMBUKA / KYAK

A collection of ethnographic and historical data from fieldwork 1989-1993

Series

Ethnographic and Historical Profiles of the Peoples of the Muri Mountains
- The Southern Groups

by Jörg Adelberger

ISBN 978-1-906168-16-2

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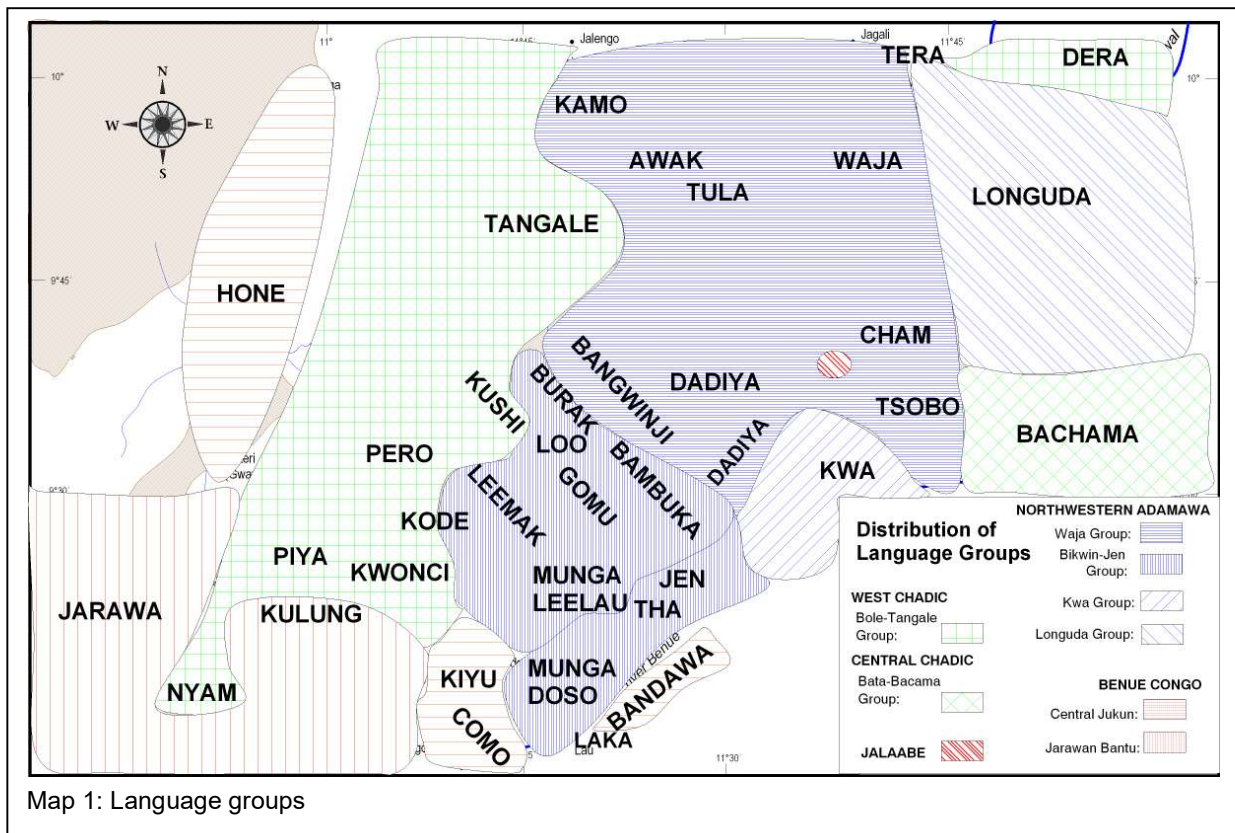
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Introduction

Ethnographic field research was undertaken within the framework of the interdisciplinary research project "Cultural Development and Language History in the Environment of the West African Savannah" (SFB 268) in the years 1989 to 1993. The information provided below reflects the situation at that time.¹

The Bambuka² [bka] language is part of the Bikwin-Jen sub-group of the North-Western Adamawa languages of the Niger-Congo phylum.³ It is described in Harley (2020) and more briefly in Othaniel (2017). Other members of the Bikwin sub-group are Loo [ldo], Gomu [gwg], Burak [bys], Leemak [pbl], Tala of Kode [gmd] and Munga Leelau [ldk].



First mention is made by the German traveller Eduard Flegel, who explored the river Benue on board the steamer *Henry Venn* in 1879, and he reported that Bambuka is a locality to the east of Muri.⁴

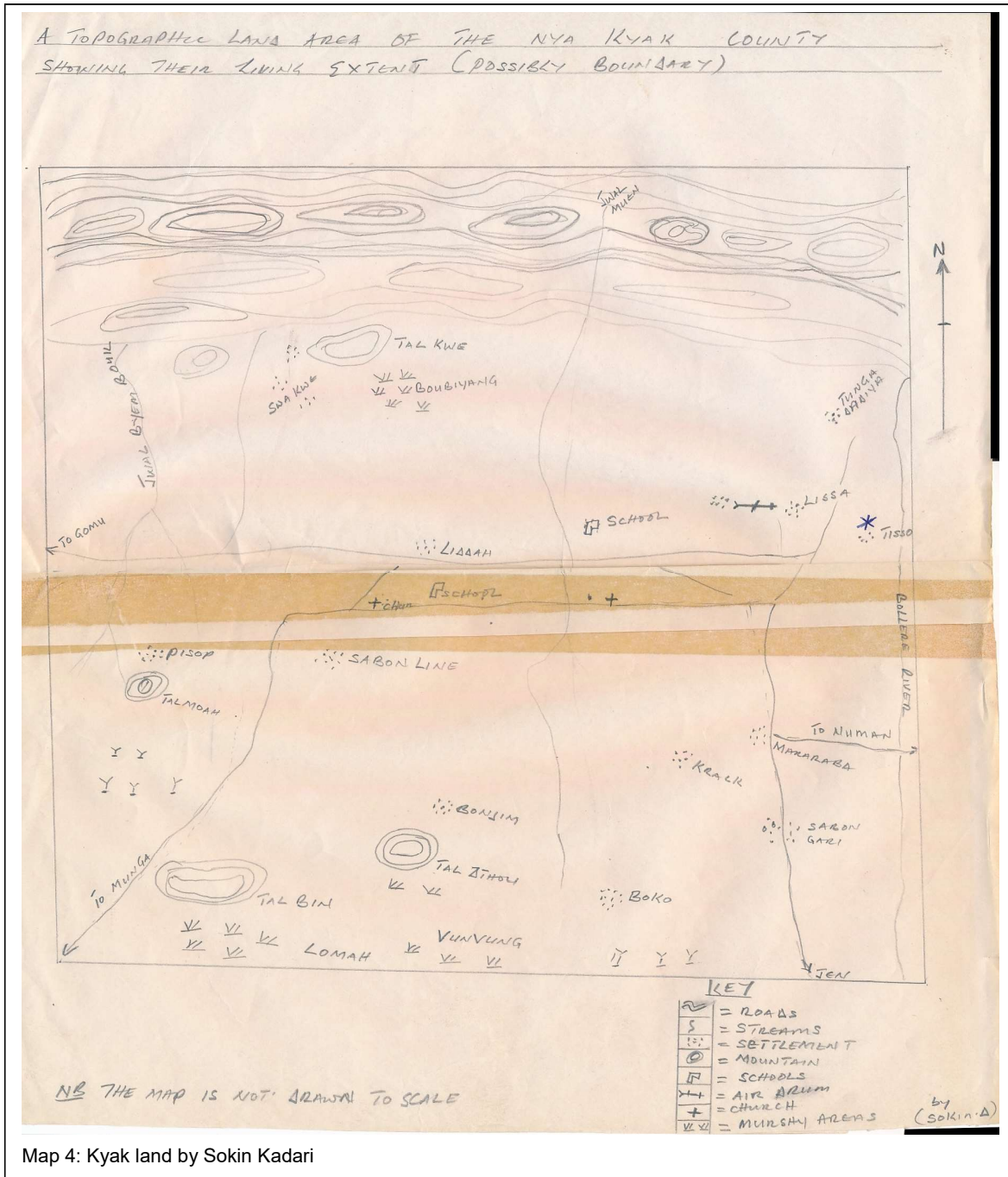
¹ I am grateful to Josef Virri and Sokin Kadari for their untiring and invaluable assistance during my stay at Bambuka. Further I am grateful to Pete Eccles for correcting my English.

² According to McBride (IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4): 27), Bambuka is a name given by the Fulani, and their own autonym would be Gwe.

³ Cf. Kleinewillinghöfer 2015; see also Othaniel 2017. In square brackets are the ISO 639 names. Matthew Harley (2020) is working on the Kyak language.

⁴ E.Flegel 1880a: 227, K. Flegel 1890: 23. For an overview of Flegel's explorations see Adelberger 2000.

the time of research there were 443 taxpayers registered, that may be extrapolated to a population figure of about 3,000 people.



Map 4: Kyak land by Sokin Kadari

The Bambuka claim to have owned the land where the Gomu are now settled along the southern slopes of the Muri Mountains, and that the Gomu moved there from the other side of the mountains only in early 20th century. The land around Bambuka, especially to the west (Gomu) up to Panya was the hunting ground of the Kyak in the past, each clan had its own hunting zone (*guk*) or bush reserve where communal hunts (*bai guk*) took place.

Most boundaries (especially towards Jen and Gomu) were marked by *dinyaa* trees (black plum tree, *Vitex doniana*), sometimes by a stream.

Interethnic Relations

Their neighbours to the north are the Loo, to the northeast the Dadiya [dbd], to the east the Kwa [kwb], to the south the Jen [jen], to the southwest the Munga Leelau and to the west the Gomu. The Bambuka acknowledge to be part of the supra-ethnic Bikwin cluster, consisting of the Leemak of Zoo and Panya, Munga Leelau, Gomu, Bambuka, Loo and the Tunga section of Dadiya. *Bikwin* means "We are one", and the meaning of the term rests on the basis of close linguistic relationship, a shared environment, common interactions and cultural similarities.

Administratively, Bikwin is also a political constituency with representatives in the House of Assembly.

The Bambuka have their own designations for the following direct or intermediate neighbours:

Bachama	Ya Dulum
Bangwinji	Ya Bongkuro
Burak	Ya Bwora
Dadiya northeast of Tunga	Ya Faa
Dadiya of Tunga	Ya Kam/Ya Kimaseb
Fulani/Hausa	Ya Bwori
Gomu	Ya Moo
Jen	Ya Zen
Leemak (of Panya)	Ya Biyak/Mak
Loo	Ya Loo
Munga Leelau	Mingem/Ya Lelau
Tsobo	Ya Kanga

They had mostly friendly relations with the (Tunga-)Dadiya, Bangwinji, Munga Leelau and Leemak, as well as the Bachama, Tsobo, Burak, Kode and Bandawa.

With the Gomu and, by extension the Loo, who were allies of the Gomu, as well as the Jen and the Fulani, the relations were strained and there were many conflicts. In a report on Muri Province from 1902, Resident Hewby informs that the ex-chief of Jen, Nana, had organised a raid on Bambuka in which 11 Bambuka were killed (NAK SNP 15 Acc. 30). Since the *Pax Britannica* was established in the colonial era, the bellicose relations with Gomu, Jen and Loo have been substituted by joking relationships that allow the parties involved to mock and abuse each other in a playful and amicable way.

Interethnic fightings were of two types: there were arranged and declared battles on open fields, and there were ambushes for head-hunting by individuals or small groups to prove their bravery.

History

Pre-colonial migrations and movement of settlements since the beginning of the colonial period

Most of the clans claim to have come from the east, some state that they came from caves within the mountains, and several have their origin from neighbouring ethnic groups. The following places, which, however, could not be identified, are mentioned as stations on their way from the east: Gawe⁵, then Dungu, then Patank near Kanga in the Tsobo/Pire area. Due to a lack of water at Patank they went via Buja to Buku.

The **Ya Weiswe** are said to have migrated from the east emerging through the cave Bwa Weiswe, and claim to have been the first to arrive at Bambuka. There are, however, other accounts contesting this and stating that the Ya Mwam arrived first, and still others that say that the Weiswe and Mwam came together.

The **Ya Mwam** came from heaven with a pot and a spear, the spear and pot are still there, their first settlement was Gangum.

The **Ya Kwen** came from a cave.

No information was gathered on the origins of the **Ya Kidang** and **Ya Mincaa**.

The **Ya Vörak** are probably from Panya.

The **Ya Nwakemfu** came from the east from a place called Gumma, and they moved along the foothills of the mountains through Tunga. Their leader, Bandana, settled at Kyak at Bojingwe, his brother Chuan settled at Lo and another brother called Migak settled at Munga Leelau. On their arrival, the clan **Ya-Ngwabwukurok** was already settled on the mountain.



Photo 1: Settlement remains near Bambuka

The **Ya Wuso/Ngwasok** came from a cave with plenty of water,⁶ then moved up the mountain and settled at Nwasok. They first met the Ngwabukorok and the Nwakemfu who settled on the western side of Bambuka.

The **Gumma** are from Dadiya

The **Dzen** are from Jen, and they still maintain relations with their clan of origin at Jen.

The **Tanyam** are from Munga Leelau, which they left because of a conflict,

probably at the beginning of the 20th century. They were hosted by the Nwakemfu clan.

⁵ Probably this is identical with Gowe near Lau where the Fulani *jihadists* fought a fierce battle with the Bachama that resulted in heavy losses for the Bachama (Hamman 2007: 79).

⁶ The missionary Ira McBride was told a similar account in 1930 when asking Bambuka elders about their history: "The fore-fathers of the Bambuka people came from the east. (...) The place where they lived was in much water, so there was no good place to build a fire for cooking food." (IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4): 27).

During a severe drought and famine that lasted three years, parts of the clans of Ya Kumbur, Ya Virak, Ya Kidang and Ya Bwatiba left Bambuka and went to the west and southwest up to Muiyeye area, but also to the areas of Zo, Kode and Chomo.

In the first half of the 20th century, the Bambuka moved from the mountains to the foothills and the plains (NAK YolaProf 5649). Remains of their terraced hill settlements with compounds built of dry-stone walls are still visible on the slopes of the mountain.

Relations with the Fulani emirates⁷

Kiri Fulani under the leadership of Hammarwa (otherwise called Hammanruwa), who later became the first Emir of Muri Emirate, established a base near lake Dulum and approached the groups in the region with the choice of either becoming their allies or being fought. The Jen made a covenant with the Fulani, and after about two years, the Fulani moved to Gowe in present Lau district and made a covenant with the Kunini, staying one year at Wulnongo south of Kunini. Before moving on to Kona, the Fulani had a series of clashes with the Bachama and the Bata, culminating in a fierce battle at Gowe, where the Bachama suffered huge losses, and subsequently the place was called 'pit of death' by the Bachama. At Gowe Hammarwa received his flag from Buba Yero and started the Jihad in 1812. While at Wulnongo, the Fulbe approached the Munga, who neglected a covenant and the Fulbe fought and defeated the Munga, who fled to Bandawa and then to Panya. From Wulnongo the *jihadists* went to Kindang-Kuro in Lau Habe, a centre of the Kona state and defeated the Jukun. In 1817, the Fulani took Muri and drove out the Je-Muri, a Jukun group settled there. The areas of Bambuka, Loo, Zo, Gomu and Panya, as well as others, were administered by officials of the Emirate of Muri: the *liman* was in charge of Bandawa and Munga, Jen was under the *kaigamma* and the *waziri* took care of Bambuka and Panya.⁸ (Hamman 2007: 79-81, 86, 103, 111).

Local information collected by the missionary McBride, corroborates that several communities such as the Bambuka, Leemak of Panya and Zo, Munga, Karim and Jen paid tribute to the Emirate of Muri.⁹ The Loo, Gomu and Burak, on the other hand, were never forced to pay tribute. In the second half of the 19th century, Muri Emirate forces successfully raided the southern fringes of the Muri Mountains for slaves, until they came to Gomu, where they were severely defeated and lost about 150 men.¹⁰

Although suffering from the various raids, large parts of the populations were able to retain their independence. It is said that the Wurkun groups were never successfully subjugated by the Fula-

⁷ The following is largely taken from Adelberger 2009; see also Adelberger 2018.

⁸ Cf. Hamman 2007: 79-81, 86, 103, 111. *Liman*: imam, leader of prayers, *waziri*: vizier, senior adviser, *kaigamma*: commander-in-chief.

⁹ IAI cons 2 box 2(4): 27.

¹⁰ NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913, Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton; NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkun Patrol 1909; Report on Wurkun Patrol by Resident Lau Division Elphinstone 1st July 1909. According to McBride (n.d.:18) this took place about 1850.

ni.¹¹ Many groups were strong enough to be able to disrupt trade routes. For instance, the German traveller Eduard Vogel noted in 1855 that the road from Muri to Yola was blocked by the Bachama, who had already defeated the troops of the Emir of Adamawa. It seems that they were supported by troops of the Shehu of Borno (Vogel 1858:32).

The military strategy of the Fulani emirates was largely based on their cavalry, with noble horsemen leading the attacks (Marjomaa 1998:218–19, 232–34, 254–56; Smaldone 1977:29–32). Mounted warriors could employ their military tactics to great effect on the undulating plains of the Northern Nigerian savannah, but could not exploit their superiority in the craggy and hilly landscape of the Muri Mountains area nor in other mountainous regions. The inhabitants of the plains surrounding the hills, especially in the Tula area, built defensive stone walls and thorn hedges, which were successfully used to check attacks by horsemen. As a protective measure, the villages were strategically well-placed in the steep and rocky hills. Usually, they were protected by stone walls and could only be reached through narrow, winding paths, partly obstructed by gateways. These could be well defended against emirate raiders, even if they approached armed with rifles.

Firearms were part of the weaponry of the emirate forces, especially since the middle of the 19th century, but since they were of the frontloader, musket type and, compared with contemporaneous European standards, few in numbers, their effect was mostly psychological inducing fear through their loud discharge. The arms of the mountain dwellers consisted of spears with varying, often quite vicious, tips, bows and arrows, the latter often poisoned, daggers, short swords and clubs. Shields made of buffalo hide and elephant ears were used for protection.

Thus, although the different emirates exercised considerable pressure by undertaking frequent raids on the population groups of the wider Muri Mountains area and adjacent regions, their control of the area was rather loose and varied over time. Supported by a suitable terrain, the mountain dwellers could successfully defend themselves or were able to withdraw into even more inaccessible areas. The acephalous nature of their societies and the existence of a multitude of factions on the one hand made it difficult to form alliances for more successful defence, on the other hand the subjugation of a single community did not entail the conquest of any wider political network.

Mountain dwellers, such as the Awak, Cham, Dadiya or Pero, were able to retain their independence against the Fulani (Temple 1922: 34, 87, 88, 365).

In their oral traditions the Bambuka still preserve the memory of risking being snatched by Fulani or Hausa slavers when doing their farmwork, as well as the fates of individuals who were taken as slaves and later managed to return to Bambuka (MS Sokin Kadari 1991-93). The Emirate of Muri was in constant demand of slaves. It is estimated that the Emirate of Muri had to send 100-500

¹¹ NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909, Patrol Tangale- Waja, Report on: From the Resident Bauchi Province to the Secretary to the Administration, Zungeru, by E. H. Lewis Resident Bauchi 5th July 1909.

slaves to Sokoto annually. There were about 40 agricultural slave settlements around Muri at the end of the 19th century (Hamman 2007: 102, 112).

Colonial encounters

A combined patrol of forces from Gombe and Muri, with officers from both provinces, toured the Muri Mountains proper in May and June 1909.¹² They went along the northern edge, then crossed the hills to the south and returned along its southern edge. Several places in that mountain refuge were visited for the first time. At Gomu a violent conflict arose which resulted in about 30 Gomu being killed. The Gomu warriors were defeated at the same place where they had overcome the Fulani forces years before.¹³ The proclaimed intention of the patrol was to bring the area under control and stop offences committed on traders disturbing the important trading centre of Lau. On 20th April 1909, Colour Sergeant Bailey left Nafada with 22 rank and file and marched (via Deba Habe, where they joined Assistant Resident of Gombe Carlyle), to the Jukun town of Gateri where they arrived on 28th April. Here they expected to meet with the party from Muri Division, but due to an illness of the Assistant Resident Fitzpatrick, the meeting was delayed. Eventually on 12th May they were joined by Resident Lau Division K. V. Elphinstone, Assistant Resident Brice-Smith and Lieutenant Feneran with 54 rank and file. The combined patrol left Gateri on 14th May. From here they first marched east and then south along the boundary line on which, however, both parties had differing views. That stretch of country was covered for the first time by a British patrol. They first visited the Pero settlements of Gwandum and Filiya, and Elphinstone remarked that he was repelled especially by the Pero. As the Pero and Tangale claimed the same saltings on the river, that topic was discussed during the visit by the Galadima of Tangale and Sarkin Filiya. The next settlements they reached were Kushi and Burak. The Burak expressed their contentment with the new administration protecting them against the neighbouring Loo and Pero, and they prepared a road to Gomu. Then the patrol continued to Loo, Gomu and Bambuka. Bambuka had been visited by W. P. Hewby in 1900 (he was an agent of the Royal Niger Company on the Benue and, later, Resident of Benue province) and the Bambuka were said to have been subject to the Emir of Yola. Recently there had been a series of quarrels between Gomu and Bambuka. When the patrol approached Bambuka, the people, armed with spears and shields, were working

¹² NAK SNP 7 - 147/1911, Boundary Muri - Bauchi: Extract from report on Wurkum Patrol, 1st July 1909 by Elphinstone, NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909:

- Report by Col. Sergeant C. Bailey 15th June 1909,
- Report on Wurkum Patrol by Resident Lau Division Elphinstone 1st July 1909,
- Extract from report from AR Gombe to Resident Bauchi by Lt. Hugh de Putron, OC Nafada.

¹³ NAK SNP 7 - 147/1911, Boundary Muri - Bauchi. NAK SNP 7 - 3803/1909, Patrol Tangale-Waja, Report on: From the Resident Bauchi Province to the Secretary to the Administration, Zungeru, by E. H. Lewis Resident Bauchi 5th July 1909.

NAK SNP 7 - 5093/1907, Wurkum Patrol 1909.

NAK Yola Prof Acc. 15, Misc. Papers re Wurkum and Muri 1912: Gwomu District Wurkum Country Assessment Report Nov. 1912 by AR T. H. Haughton.

NAK SNP 10 - 77P/1913, Muri Province, Gwomu District, Lau Division, Assessment Report by T. H. Haughton.

in the fields, and, at first, they assumed that the patrol were Gomu warriors. To settle the squabble, Resident Elphinstone decided on a fine of spears and shields from both groups, but the Gomu resented the fine. After waiting for one day, the patrol marched into Gomu town on 25th May. Half way up the pass the force was met by the Gomu who were ready to defend their town, so the soldiers fired two volleys at them and fighting ensued, in which the Gomu were joined by the Loo who were their allies. At the end, there were 31 Gomu killed and 19 wounded, and one Loo killed and 9 wounded, with no casualties on the British side.

The patrol continued to Kode. They considered the Kode people to be at a low stage of development but friendly and co-operative. Then they passed through Panya, Bambur and Kwonchi without incident and continued to Pitiko, Bashima, Kirim, Balassa, Ankwara and Batingo. The inhabitants of these settlements were considered to be friendly with the exception of those of Angule. Angule had been burnt three times and fought twice in the past, but now the inhabitants showed no resistance. The patrol did not collect the full amount of tribute, and nothing was given to the Emir of Muri as they felt he had not earned it, for the villages were not administered by him. Although the district had been placed under the Emir by the British administration in 1900, he had never visited it.

At Ligri it was discovered that a man called Haruna was in charge, and the official chief was subservient to him. Apparently Haruna was the head of a gang of robbers. He had already had quarrels with the patrol of Mr. Waters in 1906 when he had taken two Wurkun women as slaves, which had led to fighting. Thus Elphinstone now tried to arrest Haruna, but he escaped. The Emir of Muri and Elphinstone tried to disperse his gang and arrested and convicted several of his men. The route taken by the patrol was determined to be impractical and it was recommended that it should never be taken again.

On 27th May the two parties split and the Gombe party proceeded to Tangale country, arriving at Nafada on 14th June.

Social Structure

The Bambuka consist of a number of named, patrilineal and co-residential units or clans.

Among the clans, Weiswe and Nwakemfu seem to be *primus inter pares*.

Clans

The information collected on the named descent groups or clans of Bambuka resulted in an ambiguous picture - especially on the structuring or grouping of the various clans into major units or sub-units where diverging views exist. Some informants state, for instance, that Kidang is a major clan, others say that Kidang is a sub-unit of Kwen. And Ngwabukorok is given by some as a sub-unit of Nwakemfu, by others as a sub-unit of Kwen. A possible explanation is that some divisions are not based on genealogical, but on political, relationships which are contested and may change over time.

Several named clan sub-units are based on territoriality and are not regarded by the Bambuka as genealogically defined sub-units (or lineages), but merely as parts of a clan living together in one settlement bearing the same name, such as Kumbur or Nwabwatal.

While there is outline information on a good number of clans, some clan names were elicited on which no further information became available: are these synonyms of clans already mentioned or are these distinct clans of their own? Synonymous names for clans are prevalent among the Bambuka: the Mwam are also called the Cepswe, and the Mincaa are also known as the Gangum.

The following list is, therefore, only a preliminary overview based on the data gathered during my fieldwork and on the information provided in the MS by Sokin Kadari. For clarification further research is necessary.

Most clan names have the prefix *ya*, meaning people, for instance Ya Nwakemfu, or Ya Kwen. I have omitted that prefix in the list to allow for a consistent alphabetical ordering.

Table 1: Bambuka clans

Clan	Major clan, or sub-unit of	Origin	Comments
Bimbwa or Bumbwa	Mincaa/Gangum		
Bogol	Mwam or Weiswei		just a settlement name
Boku or Bookatime	Mwam	from east	
Bookwe	Mincaa/Gangum		
Bwaanswal	?		
Bwakur	Mwam		just a settlement name
Bwatibai	Weiswe		maybe only a synonym for Weiswe. Some moved to Zo, here called Saa
Dzen or Dthyaa	major clan	Jen	
Gumma	Weiswe		
Gumma-Nwaswi	Weiswe		
Gumma-Sisibing	Weiswe	Dadiya	Sisibing may also be under Mwam or Mincaa
Gumma-Sisibing-Lodkuu	Weiswe	Dadiya	Sisibing-Lodkuu may also be under Mwam or Mincaa
Jinkoo	Vōrak	Panya (Jukoo)	
Kapkur	Mwam		
Kōdang/Kidang	Kwen/major clan?		maybe not under Kwen but a clan in its own right. A possible synonym is Ninic. Sometimes called Ngwademberem, which is a settlement name. Due to a conflict, some left Bambuka and moved to Zo and Mumuye.
Kulum	Kidang	Dadiya	
Kwen	major clan	cave	close relationship and intermarriage with Nwakemfu. Got <i>dodo</i> Tibwagok from Nwakemfu. Take care of <i>min afook</i> ritual.

Clan	Major clan, or sub-unit of	Origin	Comments
Looku or Kumbur	Mwam or Mincaa/Gangum		clan has many healers. Kumbur just settlement name. Kumbur of Mincaa live now at Zo and Kode due to conflict.
Mincaa or Gangum	major clan		
Mincaa or Gangum	major clan		
Mwam or Cepswe	major clan	from east, travelled along foot of mountains; or from heaven with a pot and spear (<i>mwam</i> =spear)	founder Bakti. At beginning were together with Benjam people. Regarded as land owners. Their first settlement was called Gangum.
Nənəng/Nəng	Weiswe		
Ngwabukorok	Nwakemfu or Kwen	from cave Biyang Korok	already settled on the western side of mountain at arrival of Nwakemfu. Brought fire with them from the cave.
Ngwakömfu/Nwakemfu	major clan	from east (place called Gumma), came through Tunga. Were met at northern side of mountains, brought fire from cave Biyang Korok	ancestor was Bandana, his Br Cuwan settled at Loo and Br Migak at Munga. They brought spirits <i>Nungbwi</i> , <i>Dambang</i> , <i>Kuloo</i> , <i>Min</i> and <i>Jyim</i> . Care for the water source Tambiu, and for rain. Joke with Ya Kwen and Ya Mwam. In charge of <i>min bobsak</i> ritual. Possible synonym is (Ya-)Baalang.
Ngwasok or Wuuso	major clan	from cave Bwa Boom	founder Gibwa, original name of Ngwasok was Wuuso. Nwasok was their first settlement. Have to be the first to sow G/Corn, are in charge of <i>min afook</i> ritual and have a dedicated role at <i>dambang</i> shrine. Close relationship and intermarriages with Nwakemfu.
Nunfu	Nwakemfu		
Nwabwatal	Kidang		just a settlement name
Nwagwalmun	Mincaa/Gangum		
Nwakula	Mwam		just a settlement name
Sisibing	Mwam or Mincaa/Gangum	Dadiya	
Sisibing-Lodkuu	Mwam or Mincaa/Gangum	Dadiya	
Tangaa	Vörak	Panya	
Tanyam	major clan	Munga Leelau	founder Seni, originally from Panya
Vörak	major clan	Panya	
Weebiang	?		
Weejuwal or Nwajwal	Weiswe	from cave Bwa Nwaminjar	
Weiswe	major clan	from east, with horses; or from a cave called Baa Weiswe on the mountain	founder Tibwanjam. Joke with Ya-Nwakemfu and Ya-Kidang, good relation also with Ya-Mwam. Among the first clans to arrive at B.
Wentheng or Wusa	Nwakemfu	Hausa	name derived from clearing of their settlement from <i>madobiya</i> = <i>kab wentheng</i> (<i>Pterocarpus erinaceus</i> , African rosewood). Synonym is Wusa.
Zankoo	Kwen		care for a certain water source at Bambuka

The Ya Ngwakömfu clan has the task of keeping clean a water source called Tambiu and ensure the continuous flow of its water. The priest responsible for this is called *yegwe mamangu*; at the occasion of the *dambang* festival he sacrifices a white cock and guinea corn for this purpose. This clan is also responsible for rainfall. Because they provide many priests, they were considered as spokesmen of the Bambuka towards their gods. There is a kind of division of labour in ritual matters between the clans, for instance, the fence of the *dambang* shrine is cared for by the Ngwasok.

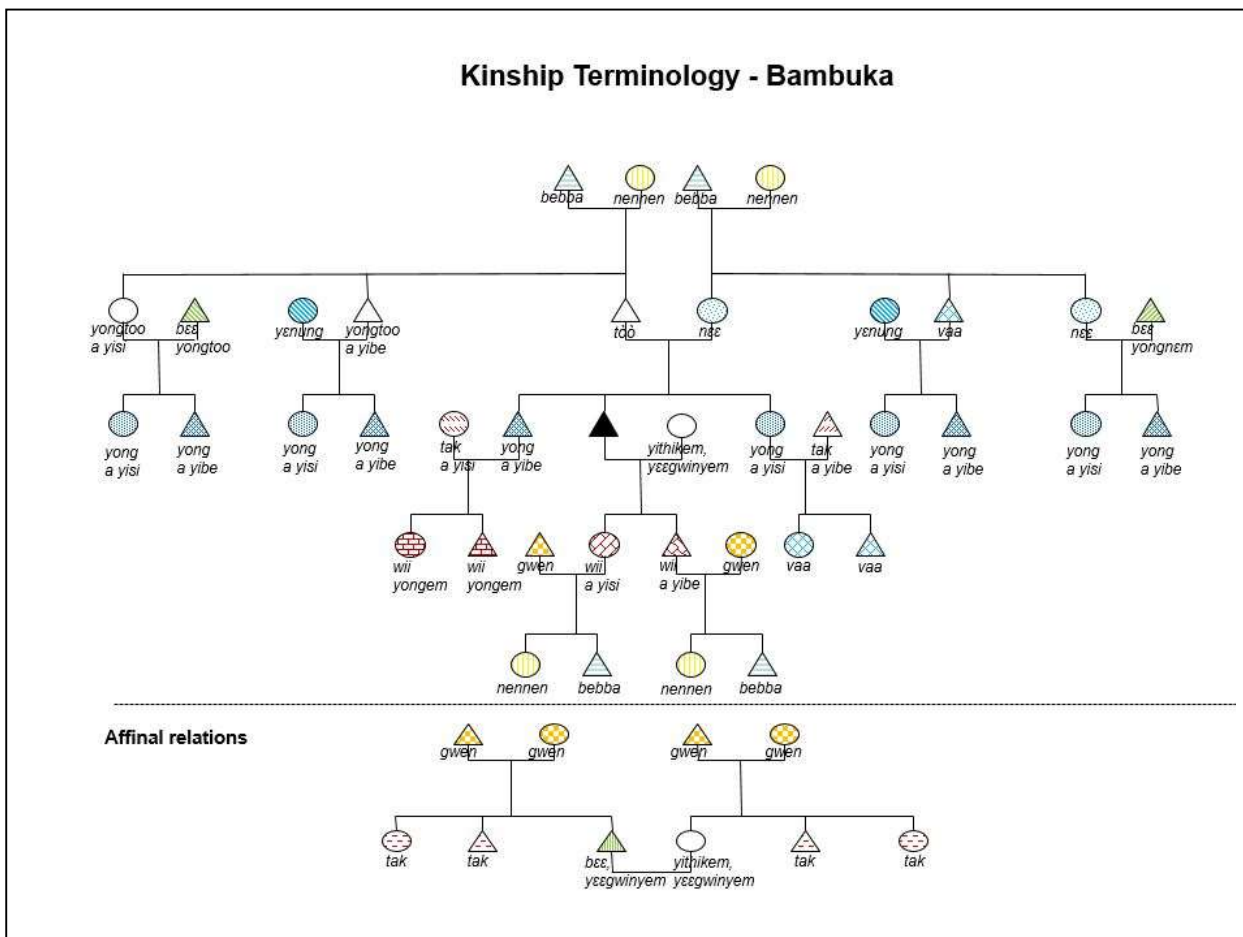
It is said that the Kumbur clan has many healers caring for the sick.

The founder of the Tanyam clan, by the name of Seni, came from Panya after a fight between the Bambuka and Gomu. The Gomu had tried to coerce the people of Panya to assist them in the conflict. The Panya, however, refused and evaded the coercion by moving to Munga Leelau. Seni was among these people, but he was considered to be a conjurer, and therefore he was sent away from Munga by his relatives; he therefore moved further on to Bambuka with his family.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the Bambuka may be classified as a Hawaii system, where in ego's generation all cousins are equated with siblings, only differentiated by gender.

In the first ascending generation, however, the terminology defies easy classification, for on the matrilineal side it is bifurcate merging (Mo=MoSi≠MoBr) and on the patrilineal side bifurcate collateral (Fa≠FaBr≠FaSi).



Family

In the case that both parents die, one of the father's brothers (paternal uncle) will take care of the children. The mother's brother (maternal uncle) of the children has some kind of power of control over them. In times of hardship, he may sell off a child of his sister to other groups in exchange for foodstuff. Neighbouring groups like the Dadiya or Leemak also gave children in exchange for food to the Bambuka.

In a polygynous household, the wives usually cook in turn for the members of the compound. If the wives are not on good terms with each other, each will cook for herself. A husband should eat from the meals of each of his wives.

Marriage

Marriage was by sister exchange in the past. Postmarital residence is virilocal.

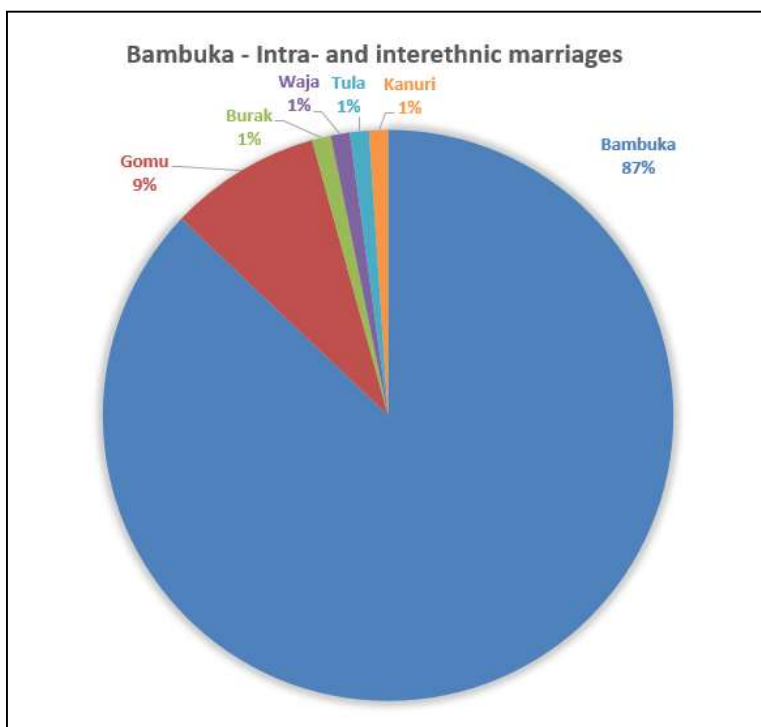
If a couple decides to marry and both parents agree, the girl will spend 5-15 days in the house of her prospective husband, during which time both will not eat any food, but only drink water.

The bridegroom has to perform bride-service for the parents of the girl and additionally provide a brideprice consisting of one basket of beniseed or corn, one goat, a hoe and a cone of tobacco for her parents. The mother's brother of the wife will receive a part of the brideprice paid by the husband.

Before a girl is allowed to move into the house of her husband, she needs to have an assortment of pots and jars made of clay as well as calabashes. These items are provided by her mother and mother's sister. Her father provides her with sorghum and beniseed.

Some statistics

In a sample of 28 married Bambuka men, there were a total of 93 wives, of which 81 were from



Bambuka, and 12 were from other ethnic groups.

The overall polygamy rate was 3.3, the polygamy rate with concurrent wives (i.e., wives who were divorced or deceased were not counted) was 1,7.

Granaries

Men and women each have their own granaries. This is also the case among the Munga Leelau.



Photo 2: Bambuka granary for men

The granary of a woman (*bwen*) always stands inside the compound. The granary of the husband (*bii*) stands outside of the compound. The granary type with legs is usually built within a house, otherwise it would easily be damaged by rain. Women's granaries are built by themselves, assisted by their husbands, and they handle the filling-up as well as the removal of supplies.

The husband builds the big granaries (*bii*) and he also fills them with supplies. If a sealed granary is opened for the first time, it is the husband who takes out the foodstuff. After this, it is always the first wife who fetches provisions from the granary, and she distributes them to the other co-wives. This applies especially to the staple crops: sorghum and millet.

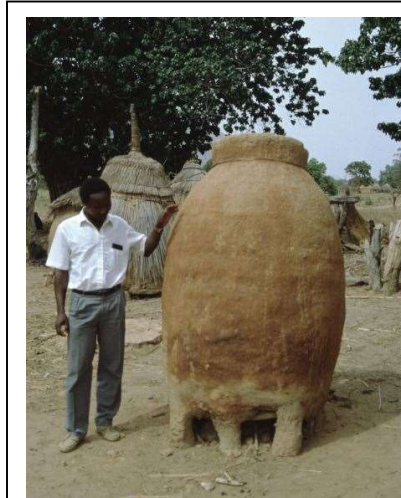


Photo 3: Bambuka granary for women

Granaries are built in the dry season between February and April. Experts in granary building are called *ya maibii*. Major crops stored in a granary are sorghum, groundnuts, rice, finger millet, beans and Bambara nuts. Rice and beans are now often stored in sacks.

Birth

After having given birth, the umbilical cord and the placenta are buried in the bathroom of the mother; the hot water that wets the ground by the bathing mother prevents ants from eating the tissue. It is believed that ants touching this tissue will cause the baby to develop boils all over its body. If the mother were to discard the placenta like garbage, she would never be able to give birth again.

Burial

Males are buried lying on their left side, the head to the north and the face to the east. Females are buried lying on their right side, the head to the north and the face to the west.

If someone dies and the deceased was a good person, there will be a light seen going from east to west and a sound heard: if it was a man, it sounds like hitting a shield, if it was a woman, it sounds like iron being lightly hit. A good person will be reborn. If after a death the people living in the vicinity see his face appearing, it means that his soul turned into an evil spirit (*biyang*) and



Photo 4: Graveyard near Bambuka

must be killed ritually or sent away on demand of his relatives.

Every clan has its own burial ground (*djun*).

In the case of a baby (from birth to crawling stage) dying, it is buried in the room of the mother, so that the spirit may be able to enter her womb to be reborn. A child from walking stage to 14 years is buried within the

compound, because the spirit is familiar with the house and may not go away, but become reborn. Male persons from 15 years onwards are buried at the clan's graveyard. The heads of old persons, are taken from the grave after some time and put into a special pot and rituals performed involving triangular shaped long stones (*tal lo*) signifying how many old people in the clan died. Sacrifices are made on these stones.

If a good hunter dies, the *kunjang* bell is beaten.

If someone dies young (meaning about 40 years or less), his or her name may not be used anymore within the clan, this applies to men and women alike. An elder person's name will be used again after his or her death.

Village

Jinbogol, Pilang and Nwabwageh are the names of quarters in the old and now deserted settlement (*kufai* in Hausa) on the slopes above current Bambuka settlement. Nwaavilen is a quarter of the Bambuka village near the airstrip.

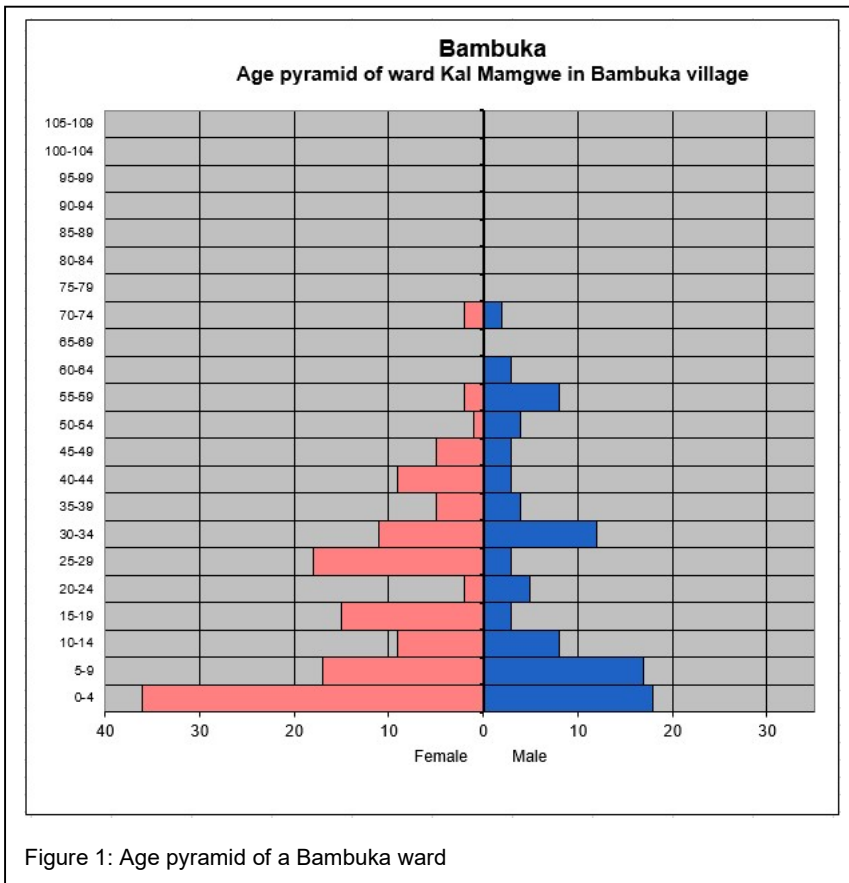
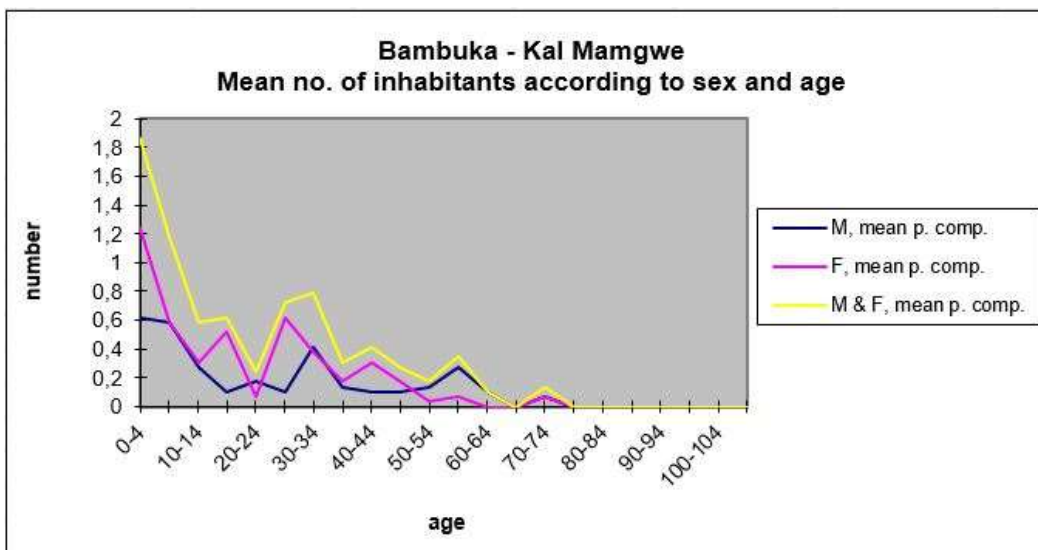


Figure 1: Age pyramid of a Bambuka ward

In a census conducted among 29 compounds at the Kal Mamgwe ward of Bambuka, a total of



225 inhabitants were counted, of which 93 were males, 132 females. The mean number of persons living in a compound was 7.6, with slightly more females (4.6) than males (3.2).

Age groups

The Bambuka have age groups (*kal*), the initiation into an age group takes place every 5 years in the course of a festivity called *kal gwam* performed in October - November. The festivity is also meant to send away malevolent spirits causing diseases and to chase out hunger from Kyak land. The festivity is performed at a sacred place east of Bambuka village, called Boku, it is believed that famine nests in the surroundings of Boku. The previous ritual had taken place in 1988, the next would take place in 1993. Women and non-initiated men are not allowed to enter that place. In the aftermath of the festival, the initiation into an age group starts by the announcement of the priest of the idol (*nungbwi*) Ya Kumbur that the surroundings of the shrines should be cleared (that clearing is called *min lebwakem*). The selected boys, from the age of 14 years and upwards, will live in a camp (*waje*) in the bush in the vicinity of the shrine for seven months and receive instructions. They are taught songs, dances, farming and hunting techniques, as well as discipline and endurance, for instance by being flogged after a meal or being kept awake at night. All boys being initiated together form an age group *kal nungbwi* (age group by *dodo* initiation). Each *kal* has its own name which is usually derived from an incident that occurred during the initiation phase, for instance *kal bwi* = *kal* of death because one of them died during that time, or *kal bii min* = *kal* of grand corn. The period of training is called *bii nungbwi*. If a father needs his son to help him during this time, he may ask the chief of the initiation ritual for permission that his son may return to the village until the task is completed. The son is, however, not allowed to speak or enter his house.

The graduation phase (*map yantheyeng*) begins in the seventh month, when the boys may leave the camp wearing goat skin (*zwebaa*), wool (*landi*), cowries (*nunlaibwon*), bangles (*bwona*) or white fur (*cial*) tied to their arms and wrist. They get a stick on their mouth preventing them from talking and they may only communicate by signs. The final ritual *min lebkaa* is celebrated with millet beer, the stick is removed and the boys return to their homesteads. Now they are considered adults and may marry a wife. All the boys that have attended the initiation in one year belong to one age-group. Those who take part usually do not attend a state school.

Political Organisation

Village Head

The title of Village Head was introduced by the British colonial administration. Bariyam was made Village Head by the British in the early 20th century. After him, his brother, Yeng, became Village Head. Yeng is said to have brought the cult *mam gabra* or *boori* (in Hausa) from Munga Dooso to Bambuka.

Economic Activities

Division of labour

Table 2: Gender specific division of labour among the Bambuka (m: male, f: female)

Activity	Gender
clearing	m
sowing	m & f
weeding	m & f
harvesting	m & f
irrigating	m
threshing	f
prepare threshing ground	f
winning	f
build house walls	m
build house roof	m
prepare house floor	f
cut wooden poles	m
cut firewood	f
collect firewood	f
build well	m
build terraces	m
build fence	m
weave food cover	m & f
weave mats	m
weave baskets	m & f
make ropes	m
fetch water	f
pounding	f
grinding	f
cooking	f
brewing beer	f
clean house	f
make pots	m & f
weaving cotton	-
spinning	m & f
tailoring	m & f
blacksmithing	m
wood carving	m
butchering	m
hunting	m
collect honey	m
produce salt	m & f

Agriculture

The Bambuka are cultivating sorghum (*min*, Hausa: *daawaa*), groundnuts (*nungwi*, Hausa: *gya-daa*), finger millet (*nun̄ca*, Hausa: *tamba*), sesame (*nun̄wa*, Hausa: *riidii*), Bambara nuts (*nungwi-yu*, Hausa: *gujiyar*), beans (*nunaa*, Hausa: *wake*), tiger nuts (*nunoo*, Hausa: *ayaa*) and rice (*nuzirampam*, Hausa: *shinkafa*).

Virgin land cleared by a farmer belongs to him.

Members of the clan Ya Ngwasok have to sow Guinea corn first before all others may follow.

Prices for food crops are lowest during the months November to January because of the new harvest; from April to October the prices are higher.

The wood of *kiriya* (H., *Prosopis oblonga*) produces good heat and is, therefore, preferred by blacksmiths. *Kab wenthyeng* (*madobiya* H., *Pterocarpus erinaceus*) is used as firewood, as well as *kab wöb* (?). The price for firewood is lowest January to April, because it is collected during the clearing of the farms, in May to December the price is highest because collecting is difficult due to dense vegetation and high grass.

Salt is extracted from the soil along the rivers, this task is performed in the time between January and April.

In the past they used the red salt from Bomanda, located between Zailani and old Muri.

Animal husbandry

The Bambuka keep goats (*baa*), sheep (*baagam*), chickens (*yibe*), horses (*pira*), dogs (*dwa*) and cats (*kulle*) as domestic animals, as well as cows, pigs and donkeys (*yamde*). The latter three were introduced during colonial times.

Table 3: Domestic animals and their uses

animal	kept by	uses	comments
cattle	m & f	meat, leather	milk is not used from their own cows; milk is bought from Fulani
dwarf cattle	-	-	-
horse	m	riding	used by title holders. Horse gets a burial like human
pony	-	-	-
donkey	m	riding, beast of burden. Leather used for drums	donkey gets a burial like human
goat	m & f	meat, leather, hair used for dance dress decoration	leather used for dress in the past
sheep	m&f	meat, leather, hair used for decoration in age group initiation ritual	
pig	m&f	meat	no pigs in the past
dog	m&f	guardian, assisting in hunting	do not eat dogs
chicken	m&f	meat, eggs, feathers used in rituals	in earlier times women ate no chicken or eggs
duck	m&f	eggs, meat	no ducks in the past
guinea fowl	m&f	eggs, meat	no guinea fowl in the past
pigeon	m&f	eggs, meat	only children keep and eat them. No use of pigeons in the past
cat	m&f	meat, leather for pouches, protection against rats	only some people eat them, also in the past

Material culture

Zwam is an object which is carried by elder men during dances in connection with *min nung bwi*, it looks like a sickle. Women may not touch it. Similar objects exist among various ethnic groups in the area.



Photo 5: A *zwam*. The photo was taken among the Kwonci.



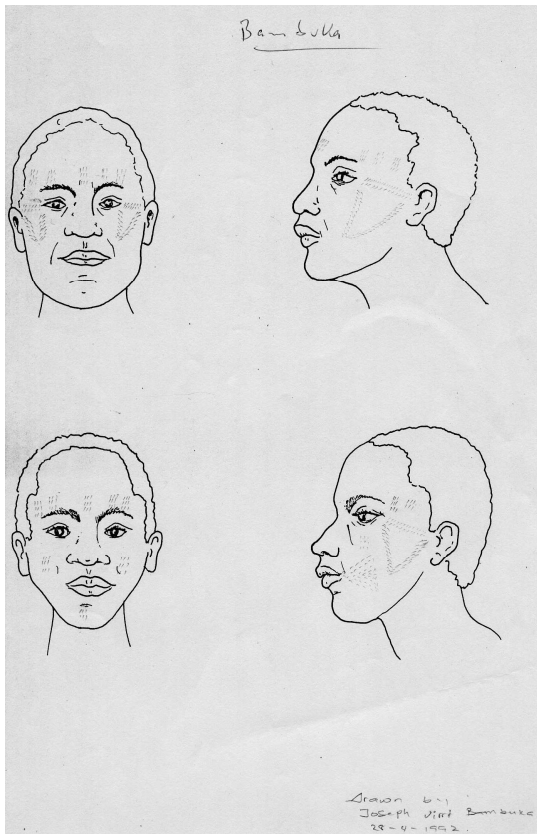
Photo 6: A slit drum



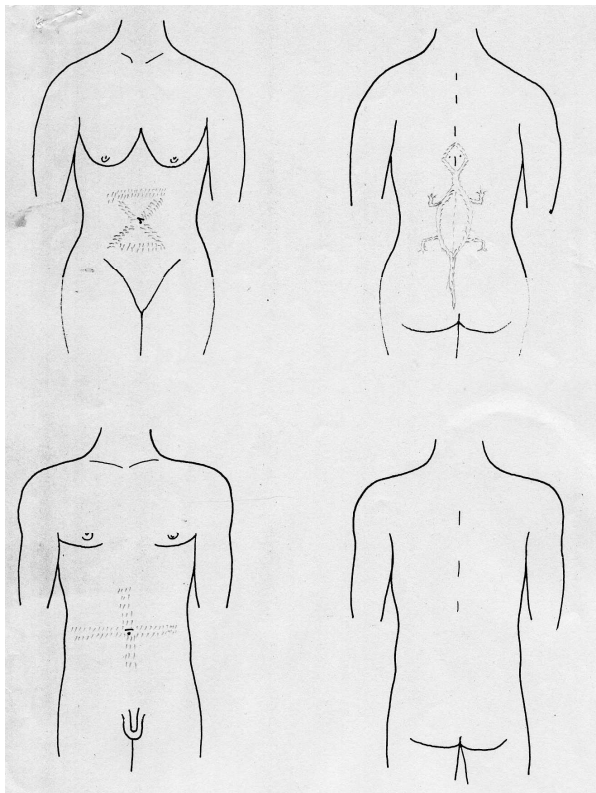
Photo 7: A wooden stool

Scarification, cicatrisation, bodily ornamentation

See illustrations.



The facial scarification typical for Kyak people are called *cok*.



Rituals and Religion

Spirits and associated rituals¹⁴

Nungbwi (*dodo* in Hausa) are spirits manifested in wooden idols usually in the form of a yoke or vertical mask and worn in masquerades.¹⁵ According to Bambuka informants, these idols exist also among the Munga Leelau, Leemak, Jen, Bandawa, Gomu, Karinjo, Loo, Kode, Bachama and Bambur. The idols and the rituals connected with them are for men only, women are not allowed to see people worshipping *nungbwi*. If a woman sees the worshippers or eats from the food prepared for sacrifice, she must ask the priest for forgiveness or she will become seriously ill or even die. The Bambuka relate that among the Gomu, Loo, Munga Leelau, Jen or Leemak, women may take part in the celebration, but not so among the Bambuka. *Nungbwi* play a central role in the initiation of boys 15-20 years old. After a successful hunt for larger mammals such as leopards or baboons, a ceremony involving the spirit *nungbwi* was performed.

Min nungbwi is celebrated usually in June - July, and in November a cleaning of the area around the *nungbwi* shrines takes place (*min nungbwi lebwakem*). There are three major *nungbwi* idols: *Gozidyok* is kept by the Kidang clan, *Yayigwe/Yigwe* is kept by the Kumpur clan, and *Waguso* is kept by the Mwam clan. There was another *nungbwi* called *Buldi* who was very dangerous and could cause deaths, therefore it was abandoned. There are other *nungbwi* among other clans, such as *Tibwagok* kept by the Kwen clan. A function of the *nungbwi* cult is to upkeep social control and discipline and sanction persons acting against rules. (Sokin Kadari MS).

The spirit *dambang* is connected with water. There are certain pots with 6, 7 or 8 necks which receive sacrifices in the context of *dambang* ritual.

Nungmung is a spirit that secures the flow and availability of water; *nungmung* lives in springs, streams and rivers, it looks like a human and carries a white robe.

Nukap is an evil spirit that may assist the person offering him a home to be a successful farmer or kill his enemies.

biyak/biyan is a bad person's soul, doing evil and disturbing people at night. It may only be seen by persons with the gifted eye (*nung pi*). Members of the cult *mam gabra* can act against such a spirit.

kusan is a ritual pot with spear grass tied to its neck. Sacrifices are made on it including chicken blood.

Water sources

Water sources are cared for by certain clans, for instance the Ya Zankoo clan takes care of the source at Nwakimuam close to Bambuka village (see Photo 8). To protect the source from pollu-

¹⁴ See also CAPRO 1992: 56-63 for some information on rituals and traditional beliefs.

¹⁵ On vertical masks in the region see Berns 2011, also Adelberger 2011.

tion it is covered with wooden planks, as is the case among the Bangwinji. It is believed that a certain snake (*biyokmu*) lives in the source and secures the flow of water.



Photo 8: A water source at Bambuka cared for by the clan Ya Zankoo

The Ya Ngwakömfu clan has the task to keep clean a water source called Tambiu and another one called Mung Pijin and ensure the continuous flow of their water. The priest responsible for this is called *yegwe mamangu*, at the occasion of the *dambang* festival he sacrifices a white cock and guinea corn for this purpose. He enters the spring Tambiu with a white cockerel and seeds of guinea

corn and will not become wet. It is believed that certain spirits called “children of *dambang*” have lived in these waters. During the *dambang* festival, a spirit comes out of Tambiu source and dances around the water. The stream deriving from the source Tambiu is called Jal-Tambiu. Water may only be collected from the stream, and not directly from the spring.

Other water sources are owned and cared for by different clans: a spring at Lissa is cared for by the Ya Weiswe, at Kumbur by the Ya Mwam, at Nwakimuam by the Ya Zankoo (of Ya Kwen) and at Voo by the Ya Vōrak. These sources are cleaned annually by each clan with accompanying rituals. No one is allowed to bathe in these water sources or catch fish there. Water sources, particularly in the mountains, are considered to be inhabited by spirits which are considered to be capricious and can be dangerous for humans. Pregnant women in particular may be affected by them and the unborn child may be harmed and become malformed, deaf and dumb, or even die (Sokin Kadari MS).

Table 4: Religious concepts and their material expression

Concept	Name	Manifestation / Comments
high god	<i>fúú</i>	creator god
ancestors	<i>biyang</i>	
water spirit	<i>nungmung</i>	
bush spirit	<i>nungweeguk</i>	
protecting spirit	<i>biyang</i> (only for clan Taanyam); <i>nungbwi</i>	<i>nungbwi</i> is a yoke mask
material expression:		
<i>gunki</i> (wooden idol)	<i>nungyak</i>	
<i>dodo</i> (masked dancer, masquerade)	<i>nungbwi</i>	yoke or vertical mask

Ritual calendar

Bambuka												
Annual festivities												
Name of festivity	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
<i>Mam gabra</i>				—								—
<i>Min nung bwi</i>					—	—	—				—	
<i>Min mam agõ</i>								—	—			
<i>Min afook</i>								—	—			
<i>Min goabsak / min nung ñwakamam</i>									—	—		

Agricultural rituals performed annually to secure good harvest are: *min nung ñwakamam*, *nung cap/goabsak* and *min afook*.

Min mam agõ / dambang – August - September: addresses the spirits to guarantee enough rain, good harvest and health. That ritual was introduced by the clan Nwakemfu, but the clans Weiswe and Mwam also play an important role during the rituals. Similar *dambang* celebrations also exist among neighbouring ethnic groups like the Loo (there is a clan Tadam which is from Bambuka), Munga Leelau, Leemak and Jen. That ritual is called *banzing* by the Munga Leelau, the Munga Doso, the Leemak of Zo and Panya, and the Loo. The Bambuka, the Jen and the Gomu call it *dambang*. (Sokin Kadari MS)

Min afook: The clans Ngwasok and Kwen are in charge of the ritual *min afook* or *fokmin* performed in August - September before harvest. It is a kind of oracle to determine the quality of the harvest: there is a special pot with a number of stones inside at the related shrine; these are taken outside, washed and put back into the pot. If the stones fill the pot and there are still plenty of stones left outside, then there will be a bumper harvest. If the stones fill the pot and none remain outside, the harvest will be sufficient. If the stones inside the pot are only as much as have been taken out, it will be a bad harvest. The chief priest will be blamed for the failure (Sokin Kadari MS).

Min goabsak / min nung ñwakamam: takes place in September - October and addresses the spirit *mam ango* to ensure a good harvest; the new yield may only be consumed after the ritual has taken place. For *min goabsak* red and white flour from the new crops is mixed and sprinkled on ritual pots and *kimuam* trees (*Ficus polita*), also on the left hands of men and on the chest of women. Its purpose is to bless the new crops and the labour that produced it. Only after that ritual may the new produce be consumed. It is a kind of Thanksgiving. After that ritual, drums are allowed to be played (Sokin Kadari MS).

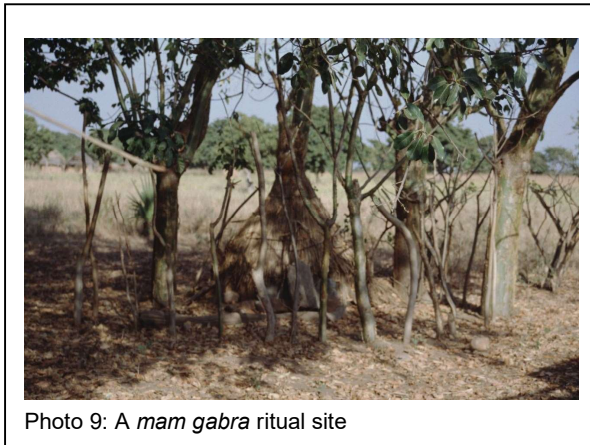


Photo 9: A *mam gabra* ritual site

Mam gabra: it is a possession cult and the celebrations have a bacchanalian character. Festivities take place in April and November - December. There are two types of that cult according to the location from where they have been imported: the Wurbo type was imported from Munga Dooso and Karim, and the Baaya type was brought from Bambur. An iron rod in the shape of a spear is the central object (*bwi mam*) kept in a shrine house (*kem mam*) (Sokin Kadari MS).

Min nunḡbwi – May/June/July and November: wooden idols (*nunḡbwi*) play an important part in the ritual. In November, another *min nunḡbwi* takes place which addresses the spirit *mam anḡo*. It is a day of dances and strictly for men, women will die if they see the men dancing.

If there is need of rain, a rain ritual (*bai bwi*) will be performed: beniseed oil mixed with charcoal is rubbed on a special rod in the form of a spear, and the rod is placed at the *dambang* shrine. This will attract rain the same day. Bringing out the idols "children of *dambang*" (*yathyen mam*) under the open sky is another rain ritual.

To curb a locust infestation, some experts go to a special hole in the mountains and open it; this will cause the locusts to disappear there during the night.

Kulo is a ritual performed in the mountains at a special place where two red tortoises (*kon*) live in a cave; the ritual experts involved must wear two pairs of trousers when being at this place; during the ritual the tortoises come out. *Kulo* aims at protection and success in hunting. (Sokin Kadari MS)

Divination

A kind of divination is practised among the Bambuka involving a calabash filled with water, as is also to be found among the Kwonci further west. The soothsayer (*sem duba*) is using a calabash (*kuluk*) filled with water to find out the reason of an illness: the calabash has a hole which is sealed with a mix of resin and honey, and the soothsayer counts out various reasons that may have caused the illness, at the mention of the right one the water will flow out of the hole.

Headhunting

In pre-colonial times, warriors proved their bravery by taking the heads of defeated enemies. Round stones representing the skulls were placed on a stone pile at the compound of the warriors as a token of their bravery. The missionary Ira McBride (IAI Cons. 2 Box 2(4): 27) reports from 1930: "Heads were always taken of those killed in war. A man was not acceptable to young girls unless he had taken a head. (Sarkin Fada says he took five head). Many years ago their fathers erected huge stone altars at their doors - -

on these are laid round stones like skulls, one for every head taken. These altars, mounted with the stone “skulls” may still be seen at many of the house doors.”

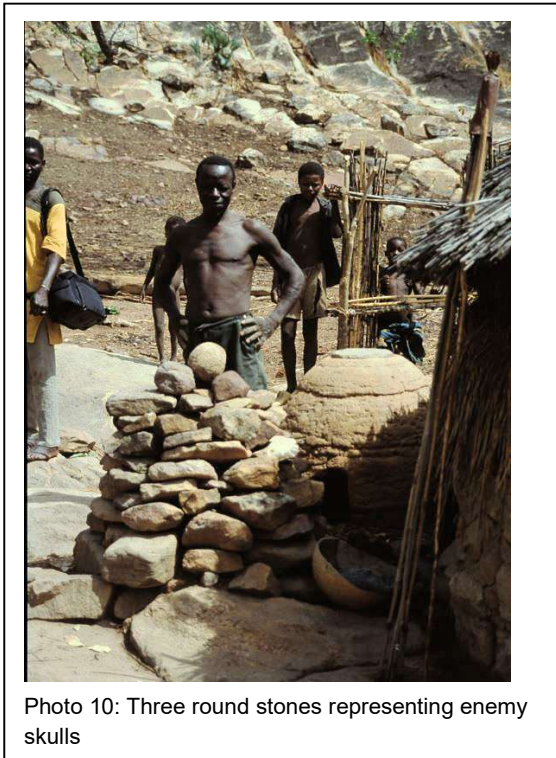


Photo 10: Three round stones representing enemy skulls

Miscellanea

Some people can turn into a hyena (*zazoo*) and eat goats at night, or they change into night cats chasing people, or into snakes.

If a warrior kills an enemy during a fight, he tries to avoid coming into contact with his blood, because otherwise he may develop leprosy.

Women during menstruation are avoided by men as these are regarded as contaminated during that time, and touching them will cause misfortune and weakness. Menstruating women tie ropes on their door post as a sign of their condition. Men will not eat food prepared by a menstruating woman.

The copaiba balsam tree (*maaje* in Hausa, *Daniellia oliveri*) and shea tree (*kadanya* in Hausa, *Vitellaria paradoxa*) are believed to have a soul.

Witches may appear as a light and kill (Sokin Kadari MS).

Taboos

If someone dies at a young age, i.e. about 40 years or younger, and irrespective whether it is a man or a woman, his or her name may not be used anymore within the clan.¹⁶ After the death of a senior person, his or her name may be used again.

A lion (*zwa*) may not be killed by the Kyak people, and accordingly its meat is not eaten. It is believed that death will come upon the hunter and his family; and that the lion is a friend of the Kyak people, leaving part of his prey for human consumption. The Ya Nwakemfu clan has a special relationship to lions. The clans Ya Ngwasok, Ya Nwakemfu and Ya Kwen will never kill a lion. The Ya Kumbur clan, as well as the Ya Gangum clan, are mentioned as an exception and may kill and eat a lion.

Women do not eat chicken, and they also do not eat the meat of a leopard.

Generally, dogs, cats, lizards, snakes, donkeys and horses are not eaten, with regard to cats there are exceptions. (Sokin Kadari MS).

¹⁶ See Kleinewillinghöfer 1995 for more information on this avoidance in the region.

Glossary¹⁷

Kyak	gloss	comment
<i>baa</i>	goat	
<i>baagam</i>	sheep	
<i>bai bwi</i>	rain ritual	
<i>bai guk</i>	communal hunt	
<i>bii</i>	granary of a man	
<i>bii nungbwi</i>	phase of instruction during initiation of boys	
<i>biyang</i>	ancestral spirit	may also be an evil spirit
<i>biyokmu</i>	sp. snake living in a water source	
<i>bwen</i>	granary of a woman	
<i>bwi mam</i>	ritual object of the <i>mam gabra</i> cult	
<i>bwona</i>	bangle	
<i>cial</i>	white fur	
<i>cok</i>	facial scarification typical for Kyak	
<i>dambang</i>	an annual agricultural ritual	called <i>banzing</i> by other groups in the area
<i>djun</i>	burial ground	
<i>dwaa</i>	dog	
<i>fú</i>	sun	
<i>fúù</i>	high god, creator	
<i>guk</i>	hunting ground, hunting zone	
<i>gwam</i>	festival taking place every five years, intended to cast out malevolent spirits, and to send away famine	
<i>jen</i>	shield	
<i>kal</i>	age group	
<i>kem mam</i>	shrine house of <i>mam gabra</i> cult	
<i>kon</i>	tortoise	
<i>kullee</i>	cat	
<i>kulo</i>	sp. ritual	
<i>kuluk</i>	calabash	
<i>kunjang</i>	a special bell	
<i>kusan</i>	special ritual pot	
<i>landi</i>	wool	
<i>mam argo</i>	a spirit	
<i>mam gabra</i>	a possession cult	<i>boori</i> (H.). Sometimes called "arm slashing cult"
<i>map yantheyeng</i>	'graduation' phase in the initiation of boys	

¹⁷ H. = Hausa term.

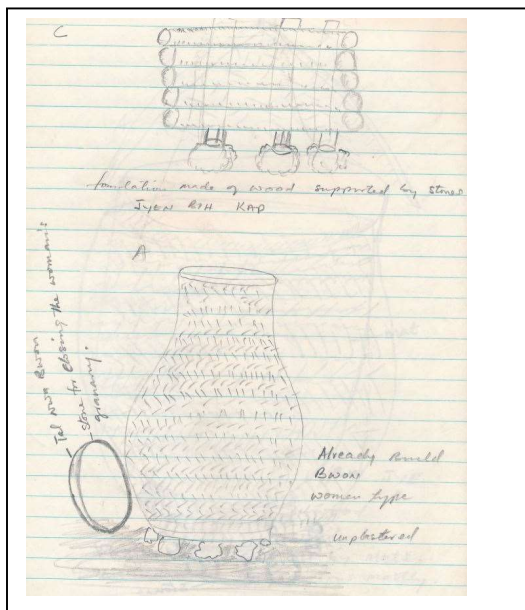
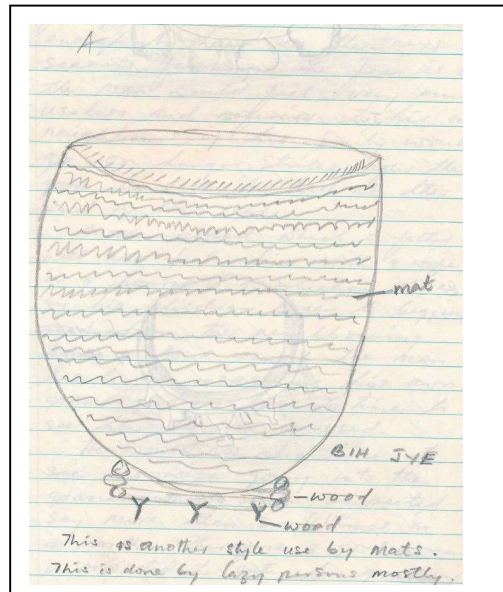
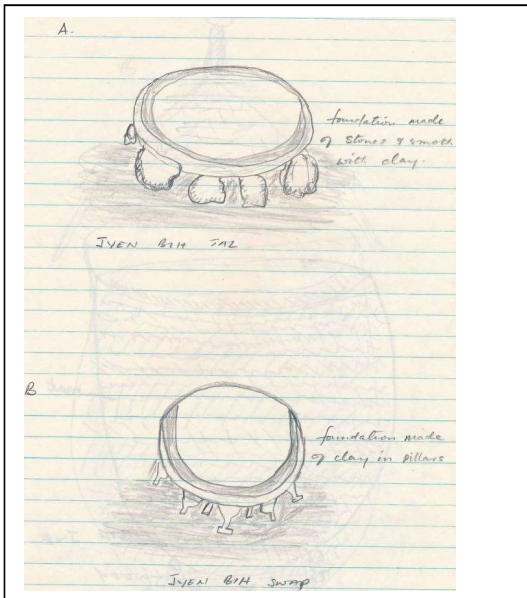
Kyak	gloss	comment
<i>min afook</i>	an annual agricultural ritual	
<i>min goabsak / ming-babsak</i>	ritual performed to allow the first use of new crops, kind of thanksgiving	<i>min nung ñwakamam</i> is another name for this ritual
<i>min lebkaa</i>	final ritual in the initiation of boys	
<i>min lebwakem</i>	clearing of the shrine surroundings	
<i>min mam agõ</i>	annual agricultural ritual	see <i>dambang</i>
<i>minunɓwii</i>	ritual for initiation of young men into an age group, takes place every five years around July, also a dance festival for existing age groups in November	
<i>muam</i>	spear	
<i>nukap</i>	an evil spirit	
<i>nung pi</i>	gifted eye that allows a person to recognise ghosts and spirits	
<i>nungbwi</i>	wooden idol, vertical mask	<i>dodo</i> in Hausa
<i>nungmung</i>	a water spirit	
<i>nungweeguk</i>	a spirit of the bush	
<i>nungyak</i>	wooden idol	<i>gunki</i> in Hausa
<i>nunlaibwon</i>	cowrie	
<i>pira</i>	horse	
<i>sem duba</i>	soothsayer	
<i>swɛn nyangsange</i>	sp. knife with a jagged end on the handle, similar to <i>toonyangshange</i> of the Dadiya	
<i>tal lo</i>	long stone	
<i>waje</i>	camp for boys being initiated	
<i>ya maibii</i>	expert in granary building	
<i>yamde</i>	donkey	
<i>yegwe mamanggu</i>	a ritual expert	
<i>yibe</i>	chicken	
<i>zazoo</i>	hyena	
<i>zwa</i>	lion	
<i>zwam</i>	ritual object in the form of a sickle	
<i>zwe baa</i>	goat skin	

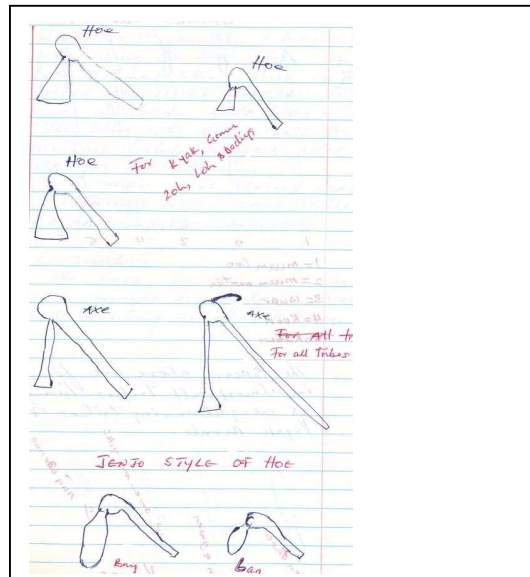
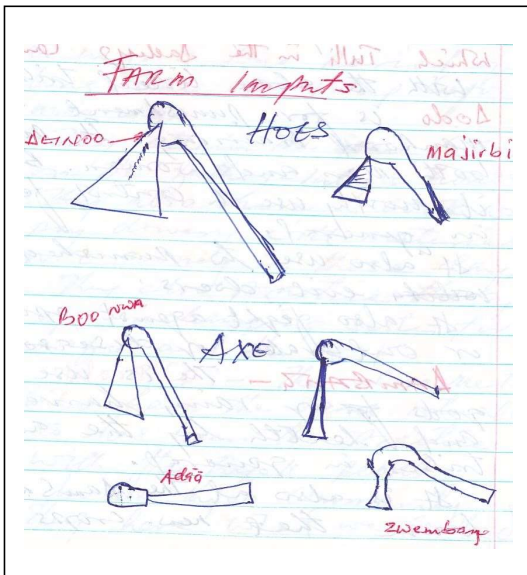
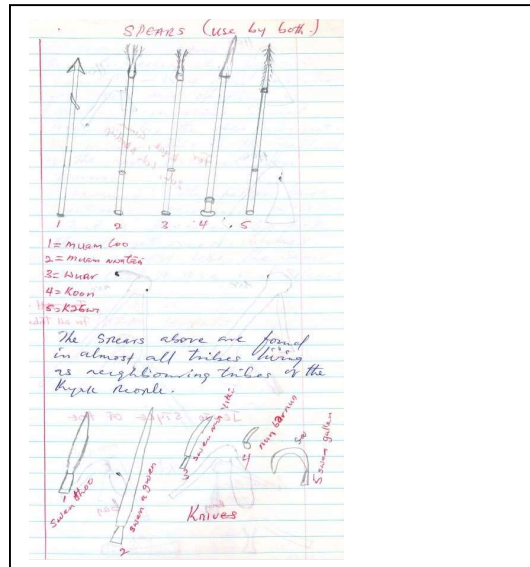
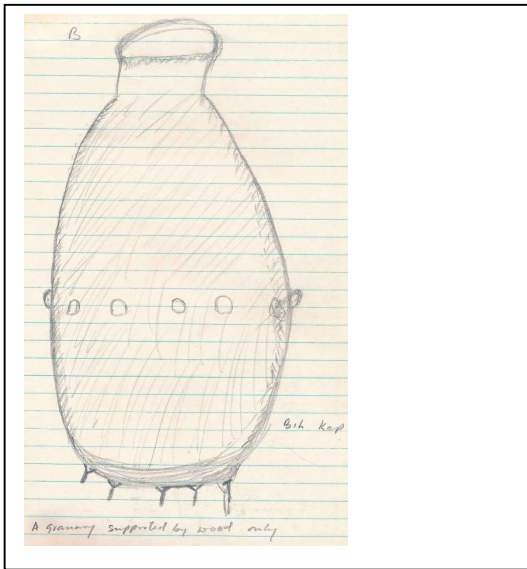
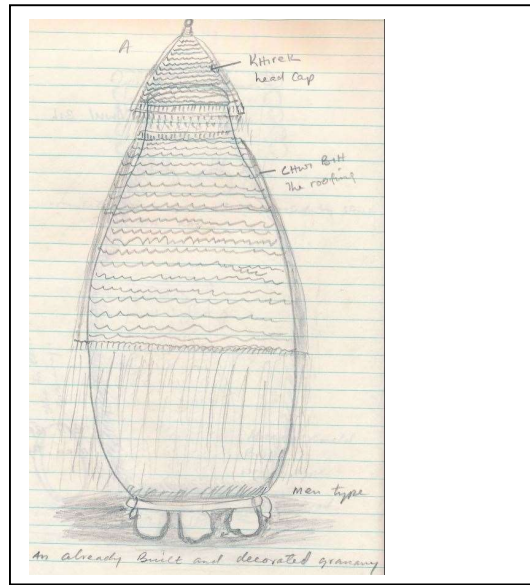
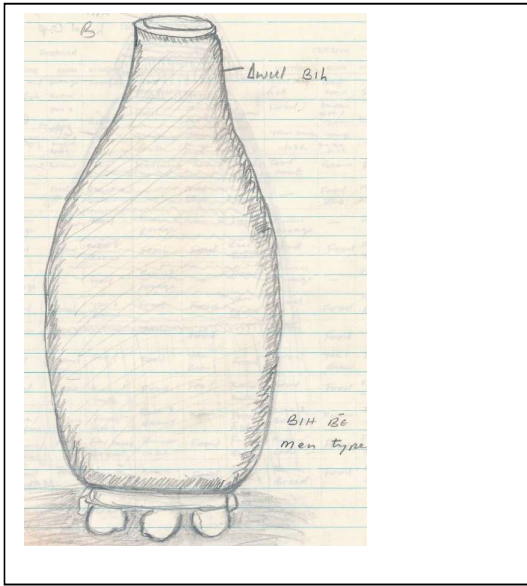
Plants:

Kyak	Hausa	English	scientific name
<i>buni</i>	?	(useful plant)	?
<i>kab bwo</i>	<i>tuwon biri</i>	aerial yam	<i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i>
<i>kab djwi</i>	<i>doorawa</i>	locust tree	<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>
<i>kab dyimbilim</i>	<i>dinya</i>	black plum tree	<i>Vitex doniana</i>
<i>kab fyem</i>	<i>kukkuuki</i>	karaya gum tree	<i>Sterculia setigera</i>
<i>kab goo</i>	<i>giginya</i>	palm tree	<i>Borassus aethiopum</i>

Kyak	Hausa	English	scientific name
<i>kab jinjin</i>	<i>kuuka</i>	baobab	<i>Adansonia digitata</i>
<i>kab kuni</i>	<i>gwangwalaa</i>		<i>Raphia sudanica</i>
<i>kab pipak</i>	<i>ganjil</i>		<i>Ficus tricopoda</i>
<i>kab sob</i>	<i>kaɗanya</i>	shea tree	<i>Vitellaria paradoxa</i>
<i>kab wenthyeng</i>	<i>madobiya</i>	African rosewood	<i>Pterocarpus erinaceus</i>
<i>kab wöb</i>	?	sp. tree	
<i>kidam</i>	<i>gabaaruwaa</i>	Egyptian mimosa	<i>Acacia nilotica</i>
<i>kimuan</i>	<i>durumii</i>		<i>Ficus polita</i>
<i>manguro</i>	<i>mangwaro</i>	mango tree	<i>Mangifera indica</i>
<i>min</i>	<i>daawaa</i>	sorghum	
<i>munkuna</i>	<i>masaraa</i>	maize	<i>Zea mays</i>
<i>nunaa</i>	<i>wake</i>	beans	
<i>nungca</i>	<i>tamba</i>	finger millet	
<i>nungwi</i>	<i>gyadaa</i>	groundnut	
<i>nungwiyu</i>	<i>gujiyar</i>	Bambara nut	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>
<i>nunoo</i>	<i>ayaa</i>	tiger nut	
<i>nurwa</i>	<i>riidii</i>	sesame	
<i>nuzirampam</i>	<i>shinkafa</i>	rice	
<i>yag bwarim</i>	<i>saabaraa</i>		<i>Guiera senegalensis</i>
<i>yag dee</i>	<i>kwari (ganya)</i>		<i>Anthocleista vogelli</i> . <i>A. djalonensis</i> ; <i>A. nobilis</i>
<i>yag gol</i>	<i>baure</i>	fig tree	<i>Ficus</i> spp.
<i>yag jel</i>	<i>kargoo</i>		<i>Piliostigma reticulatum</i> ; <i>P. thonningii</i>
<i>yag konkha</i>	<i>riimii</i>	silk cotton	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>
<i>yag kwa</i>	<i>kiryaa</i>	false locust	<i>Prosopis africana</i>
<i>yag soo</i>	<i>zuuwuu</i>	Nettle tree	<i>Celtis integrifolia</i>

Appendix: Drawings of Kyak material culture by Sokin Kadari





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